TIME AGAINST RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA: R. K. CHASE

THE Nation

April 9, 1955
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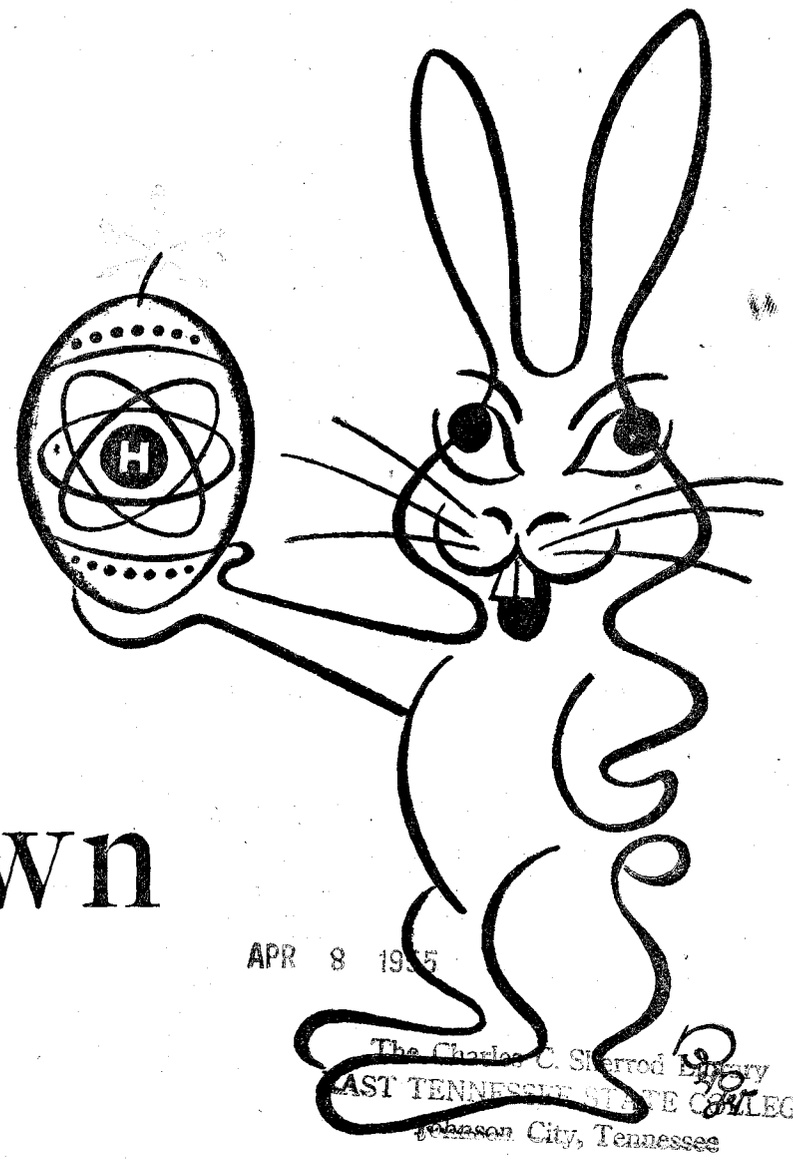
Spring 1955: Perils Unknown

by Carey McWilliams



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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Anti-Anti-Trust Drive — *L. A. Traywick*

Back Door to Peace? — *J. A. del Vayo*

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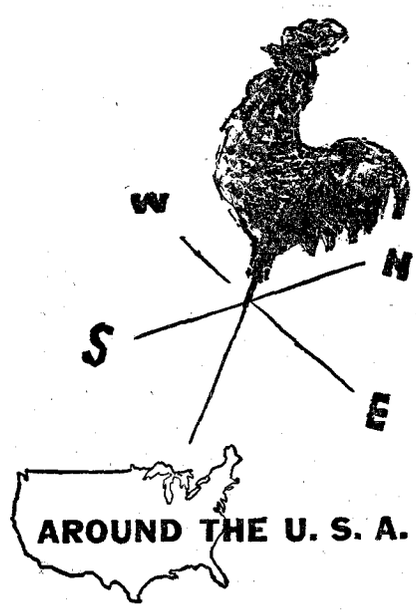

Ferment in the Lettuce Fields

Imperial Valley, California

PRELIMINARY skirmishes here in the last few months between the Associated Farmers and the United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.) indicate that a fierce struggle to unionize one of the few remaining groups of unorganized American workers is preparing. Last July the U. P. W. A. was given jurisdiction by the C. I. O. over all agricultural field workers—500,000 in California, more than 2,000,000 in the United States. The union has three big problems: farm mechanization, Mexican nationals under contract to work in the United States, and the Associated Farmers of California.

Up to the last few years most vegetable crops were picked in the field and trucked to town where they were prepared for shipping in packing sheds. The Imperial Valley alone had 3,000 workers in sheds. Today there are fewer than 400. Out of sixty lettuce sheds, only five are operating this season. Sheds have been all but eliminated by use of a new vacuum freezing method. Formerly shed workers placed chipped ice between layers of lettuce as they packed the crates. Now lettuce is packed in the fields in cardboard cartons which are taken to town and placed in a dry vacuum freezer a truckload at a time. This process saves the farmer the rent for sheds and the cost of packing equipment. It also enables him to get his field-packing done by Mexicans who work for 70 cents an hour instead of the $3 per hour the shed workers used to receive.

However, residents of the Valley and the United States army furnish two commentaries on the new field-pack system. The army is largely responsible for the continued operation of the five sheds using the old ice-pack method; it refuses to buy field-packed lettuce. As to local residents, it is significant that lettuce sales have declined in Imperial Valley retail stores. The local people are aware of the unhygienic conditions in which Mexican labor is employed. There are, for instance, no toilet facilities in the fields. Ice-packed lettuce received a good washing in the sheds; field-packed lettuce comes into no contact with water until your grocer unpacks it.

MISTREATMENT of the Mexican workers is widespread. Some of the farmer-owned camps in which they sleep are clean; most are filthy. Food is generally poor; one camp served tripe and pig's feet night after night and another had macaroni three times a day for an entire week. The reason for the poor food is obvious—it means more profit for the grower, since he is entitled to charge the worker $1.75 a day for food no matter what is served.

Few farmers keep accurate piecework records, although they are supposed to pay on a piece-work basis if the worker has earned more than the minimum wage.

With these conditions prevailing, the union had little trouble signing up over 1,000 Mexican workers in a recent organizing drive. Considering the language barrier and the fact that the workers are scattered through the valley in little camps closed to outsiders, this is a phenomenal achievement.

A camp of Mexicans near Yuma, Arizona, hearing that the union was ready to pay bus fare, sent a representative 70 miles to U. P. W. A. headquarters in El Centro to ask the union to do something about their miserable living conditions. Arrangements were made for this man to testify at a hearing to be held shortly before the regional director of the Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security. Two days after the worker's return to Arizona, the union received a hurried letter from him to the effect that he was being transferred. The U. P. W. A. demanded that he be located in time to appear at the hearings, but he was found only after they were concluded.

Held early in February, the hearings produced promises by federal authorities to enforce existing law. But as there is only one compliance officer for the entire Imperial Valley, it is doubtful that the Associated Farmers have become especially worried. However, the union did get the right to be heard when prevailing wages are set each year. Under an agreement between Mexico and the United States, Mexican nationals are supposed to be paid not less than the prevailing wage paid Americans for the same work. Theoretically, this is designed to prevent Mexicans from displacing Americans. But by managing to have the wage set at 70 cents an hour, the Associated Farmers have been able to fill their fields with Mexican nationals; Americans refuse to work for such wages. The prevailing wage in lettuce is due to be renegotiated in a few weeks. If the union is successful in raising it, more Americans will want field work and the U. P. W. A. will be able to place them.

THE chief objective of the U. P. W. A. is to gather all field workers into one strong union. Union officials believe that once they can show the farmers that the majority of workers are unionized, union recognition and higher wages will be granted without strike action.

But the Associated Farmers are not likely to give up so easily. They are the best-organized group of employers in the country and use ruthless strike-breaking methods; these were thoroughly exposed by the La Follette committee in 1940.

The U. P. W. A. has taken on a big job. The Associated Farmers know that if they are able to break the union's bargaining drive they will remain free to exploit the field workers for a long time to come.

WILLIAM CARPENTER

[*William Carpenter, a free-lance writer, was formerly on the editorial staff of the Los Angeles* Daily News.]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

"The War Party"

When Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, in one of the briefest debates in recent Senate history, charged that the right wing of the Republican Party was now "talking war" and then, by way of rebuttal, invited Senator Knowland to wear the shoe if it fit, he touched on one of the biggest political scandals of the post-war period. Everyone of course, including the politicians, has known about the existence of a war party, but since the ill-fated campaign of 1948 a make-believe that no such thing exists has been maintained by both major parties —like a family scandal which both sides feel compelled to conceal. When Syngman Rhee visited Washington last summer to propose a declaration of war, the Washington *Post* and other papers commented on the riot of pro-war statements which appeared in the press. *Newsweek* (August 9, 1954) expounded the views of the preventive warriors with considerable frankness, and *Look* (August 24, 1954) carried William C. Bullitt's categorical exposition of the motives actuating the war party. Yet the myth continued to prevail that Rhee was just an old eccentric without important allies in the Senate and armed services, and responsible Democratic spokesmen seemed unwilling to point out that the war crowd on the G. O. P. right wing was becoming increasingly reckless.

In the absence of *political* opposition, the war party has been winning decisions by default; there has been no way by which the growing peace sentiment in the country could find expression in meaningful political terms. Max Lerner merely stated what everyone must recognize as fact when he wrote: "I do not remember a time when one sensed so vast a wave of feeling and opinion, mounting every day, thus far unexpressed yet insistently seeking to find voice." Yet until the recent statements by Senators George and Johnson it did not appear that the Democrats were even aware of the size and force of this wave of feeling.

Needed: An Anti-War Voice

Now that the existence of a war party has been publicly acknowledged, public opinion can begin to form in what has been an enormous political vacuum. The truth is the country has been suffering from too rigid an adherence, by political leaders of both parties, to a misconceived "bipartisan" approach to certain foreign-policy issues. Writing in the London *Spectator* of February 25, Max Beloff notes that "too great an effort towards agreement internally may be more dangerous than the frank acceptance of the fact that there are issues over which genuine disagreement is possible and, indeed, inevitable." The case of Quemoy and Matsu is a classic example of the kind of issue that should be debated. Perhaps now it can be, for bipartisanship is one thing and rebellion within a party is something else again.

Senator Knowland's sharp disapproval of any attempt to draft President Eisenhower, which was reported in the same news columns as a story from Chicago that a group of conservative Republicans are prepared to launch 'a nation-wide drive to wrest control of the Republican Party from New Dealers and internationalists," certainly smacks of insubordination. The drive will be launched on April 25 when the "hate-the-United-Nations" forces assemble in San Francisco for a five-day rally. Just as this drive may well derail the war party by getting it out in the open, so Senator Knowland's suicidal logic can be expected to result in his own and the right wing's further isolation from the Administration. Both processes might be accelerated, however, if those who favor a policy of peaceful coexistence, sanity, and support for the United Nations would demonstrate with dispatch and vigor that the war party constitutes a diminishing minority in this country.

A "Hardening" in Europe?

Prime Minister Nehru, not normally pessimistic, believes that the world situation has "hardened" and that things are happening which could lead to "catastrophic results." It is easy to understand his apprehension over developments in Asia; he has always regarded SEATO as a menace, and he is not alone in seeing Quemoy and Matsu as stepping stones to peace or war, depending upon who takes what steps. But is his pessimism over Europe justified? Russia has made what appears to be a gesture toward ending the Austrian-treaty deadlock, and Premier Bulganin's stated willingness to meet with the West could make high-level four-power talks a possibility this year.

But to go by present signs and to ignore those of the immediate past may make us misread Soviet intentions. For three years and more Russian foreign policy has been keyed to stopping West German rearmament; Soviet spokesmen have warned many times that the re-creation of a German war machine would have serious consequences. Soviet policy has obviously failed. The parliaments of France and West Germany have finally approved the Paris accords, and the United

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States Senate will have ratified them by the time this is read.

German rearmament is thus agreed up; it is the consequences that now interest us. Vulnerable Berlin, Western island in the Eastern sea, has been the first to suffer as the East Germans have clamped down an intolerable tax on the use of the highway leading to it. The next may be France and Britain, if the Russians make good their threat to denounce the friendship pacts with them. And the Paris treaties will be unpleasant ghosts at any four-power talks, if, indeed, they do not make such talks impossible. For the Russians are likely to demand as a price for a high-level conference the postponement of any move to execute the Paris agreements. From their point of view, they can justifiably argue that there is no point in discussing even the key question of German unification under circumstances which make an accord impossible. Mr. Nehru's pessimism will continue to be well founded so long as the West insists on treating the Paris agreements as a *fait accompli,* subject to no discussion and no compromise.

The Example of Mr. Cain

When former Senator Harry P. Cain, now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, teed off against the government's security program in a speech at Spokane in January, spokesmen for the Administration hastened to advise him that he was "rocking the boat." A good soldier, Mr. Cain had nothing further to say on the subject until the Attorney General released his comments on the security program which promised only minor reforms. Then, in a speech before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington, the former Senator denounced the program once again, this time calling for the "liquidation" of the list of so-called "subversive" organizations and defending the Fifth Amendment in forceful fashion.

Interviewed by the Washington *Star,* Mr. Cain described the evolution of his views on security matters with remarkable candor. "I readily confess," he is quoted as saying, "that I attempted [as a Senator] to accomplish too much for too many people in too many directions all at once. In attempting this, I lost sight of some fundamentals which have returned to focus during the last two years."

Much of the comment about Mr. Cain's current views on security issues overlooks two significant items in his career: his spirited defense of Mrs. Anna Rosenberg when she was viciously smeared some years ago in an effort to prevent her confirmation as Assistant Secretary of Defense, and his opposition—almost alone among West Coast public officials—to the incarceration of the resident Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War II (in the early 1940's Mr. Cain was Mayor of Tacoma). In the atmosphere of the times, Mr. Cain has set an example of responsible behavior which even his bitterest former critics must applaud.

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Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

CIVIL DEFENSE in the hydrogen age has always wavered between the opposite perils of inertia and panic. It has been necessary to arouse a sense of danger without yielding to a sense of fear. Thus far the record of leadership is rather blemished. For example, General Chidlaw, as head of the Strategic Air Command, thought it advisable to warn the conference of mayors last December that Russia could wipe out 100 American cities in 100 minutes; and in the next breath he called for an improved system of civil defense. In terms of logic it is possible to reconcile these statements; but no one present at that conference would doubt that the danger, thus overdramatized, produced a feeling of futility before a task too vast and numbing to submit to the ordinary methods of civic organization.

Another example of the wayward moods of public sentiment was provided by the reaction to the Atomic Energy Commission's statement on atomic fall-out. The statement was designed to reduce anxiety, but its forbidding statistics, all the more disturbing for being so unfamiliar, served once again to emphasize the dimensions of the problem rather than the area still open to prudent precautions. One needs more than the threat of a charred ruin to stir the energies of the nation into creative action.

This confusion emerged again from the Kefauver committee's hearings on civil defense. Senator Jackson, with trenchant logic, was trying to destroy the comfortable doctrine that it would be possible to escape the hazards of blast if one were on the edge of the city and took elementary safeguards. He pointed out that no one knew what form a Russian bombing attack might take. It might be directed at the approaches to a city as much as to its heart. The most important task, therefore, was to provide for a network of super-highways permitting the swift evacuation of the city and to prepare all the necessary facilities in the country to receive the uprooted and dispersed population. This was heroic logic but even Senator Jackson faltered from all its implications. What is to prevent a Russian bomb from tearing up these roads and making escape impossible?

It is unnecessary to bludgeon one's mind with these nightmares to realize that the present arrangements are unsatisfactory. Governor Peterson, the head of civil defense, testified before the Kefauver committee on March 4 that the method of classification applied to fall-out data "made it extremely difficult for us to work in the area of preparation to take effective steps to meet the threat of fall-out." Governor Peterson added that even in his own organization he could not discuss "the fall-out problem or fall-out data" with some people who were cleared for secret information but who lacked the "Q" clearance of the Aatomic Energy Commission. "We had a very difficult situation," he went on, "in which one man in the shop working side by side with another man could have this information while the other fellow could not." The moderation of this language should not obscure the magnitude of the problem which it discloses.

Senator Kefauver

It should be explained that the relationship of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency is governed by statute. When Governor Peterson's complaint was raised by Senator Humphrey before his subcommittee examining the advisability of establishing a commission on government security, two officials of the A. E. C. expressed surprise. Mr. John Waters, director of the division of security for the A. E. C., testified that over 300 people now working with the Civil Defense Agency had received "Q" clearance. He added that the agency had observers at the commission's tests in the Pacific and at Nevada. All the same, Governor Peterson's statement stands on the record and it raises doubts about the way the present security system is being administered.

When Senator Humphrey pressed the matter, Mr. Waters explained that the Atomic Energy Commission does not accept a federal civil-defense "top secret clearance" for access to restricted data. Mr. Waters admitted that it might be necessary to have "some close cooperation" not only with the civil-defense organization but with the Food and Drug Administration and other agencies of the government. He insisted however that the A. E. C. had been fully cooperative in arranging these special clearances when requested and said that the initiative had to come from the agencies requiring the services of the individual.

Senator Humphrey admitted during these hearings that the security regulations and procedures of the

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Atomic Energy Commission are in some ways the best in Washington but he strongly suggested the urgent need of greater cooperation with other branches of the government, especially when the problems of mass evacuation had to be considered. Otherwise the security system could become an obtacle to national safety.

SENATOR HUMPHREY defined the central dilemma when he asked: "So long as the Soviet gives us time to work out all of these things and exchange papers and telephone calls we are all right but what happens if we have to get out in a hurry some week-end?" To this challenge Mr. Mitchell, general counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission, simply replied with great frankness, "I would hesitate to guess."

A Public Roads Administration representative testified that they have two people with a "Q" clearance. As Senator Humphrey explained, the atomic fall-out "has upset the entire civil-defense preparations. I am somewhat familiar with this. It has caused a re-evaluation of the whole program. No longer are they thinking about just digging in and getting in shelters. The idea is to scatter and disperse. You cannot disperse into thin atmosphere. You have to have roads."

Yet the cooperation between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Public Roads Administration certainly falls short of what the emergency may require.

In testifying before the Kefauver subcommittee, Dr. W. F. Libby, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, said, "We of course have no knowledge as to how large a bomb the enemy might be able to deliver on our cities nor have I any knowledge of how effective the enemy's means of delivery might be." That statement, because of its very caution, seems more persuasive than General Chidlaw's estimates. It also deflates the macabre prophecies made with such reckless ease by so many commentators. On the highest authority we have been assured that in this most vital area of national security there is a margin of error, uncertainty, and conjecture which cannot at present be removed. But it is always perilous to underestimate the danger or to neglect means of possible safety. That is why the defects in the present planning for civil defense, uncovered by Congress, demand swift remedial action.

BACK DOOR TO PEACE?

East-West Trade Sessions . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THERE were two reasons why the recently held tenth session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (E. C. E.), which was attended by more than 160 delegates from twenty-five European countries and the United States, as well as observers from Canada, Iran, and Israel, aroused so much interest. First, there was the widespread desire to see achieved in the domain of trade what has not been achieved in the political domain—to get East and West together in the hope that a frightened world might be offered an alternative to the armaments race and H-bomb diplomacy. Second, as a result of Europe's increasing economic strength the incentive to extend the exchange of goods to the Communist countries becomes more irresistible every day.

As Gunnar Myrdal, executive secretary of E. C. E., pointed out in his opening statement, the tide is now running decisively in the direction of East-West trade. In this connection, he said, governments are turning increasingly to the machinery made available to them by the commission. Although neither Myrdal nor his associates like to be hailed as crusaders for "peace through trade," seeing their organization rather as an instrument for reaching intergovernmental agreements, nevertheless the E. C. E. has distinguished itself as one of the few U. N. organs which have fulfilled the hopes originally placed in it.

Gunnar Myrdal

Whether through the influence of Myrdal, Geneva, or both, the tenth session of E. C. E. was conducted in an atmosphere quite different from the normal run of debates at U. N. headquarters in New York. The conference opened, for instance, with a difficult issue to solve—a Soviet Union draft resolution calling for participation in the meetings of representatives of both East and West Germany. The Western delegates were put in the awkward position of rejecting their ally, Bonn, for whose inclusion the Soviet delegate, P. N. Kumykin, fought as hard as he did for East Germany's. The resolution was rejected but the debate, which offered new data on the economic strength of Germany, proceeded calmly. Kumykin spoke more as a technician than as a politician; his tribute to Max Suetens of Belgium, newly elected chairman of the commission, equaled in warmth that of any Western spokesman.

The conference had at its disposal,

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as a point of departure for its work, the comprehensive "Economic Survey of Europe in 1954" prepared by the E. C. E. staff. The report emphasizes that industrial production rose markedly last year in practically every West European country, with the upswing reflected in lowered unemployment. Leading the upswing were the Netherlands and West Germany, which were also the only West European nations showing a significant increase in exports. Germany's economic expansion, about which I wrote in *The Nation* last December, is fully confirmed by the survey. I have had new evidence of it here in Switzerland, where German dumping is taking on alarming proportions. Radio dealers, for instance, will accept old sets of any make as part payment toward a new German radio.

NOT all signs point to economic improvement, however. The survey lists four weaknesses in France—agriculture, insufficient industrialization, regional unbalance, and a weak export structure. Conceding that so long as food was short France would tend to concentrate on agricultural expansion, the E. C. E. experts nevertheless urged industrial growth for France's home market, the overseas members of the French Union, and as the basis of a general expansion of exports. French delegates Dupraz and Philip, while giving praise to the general excellence and objectivity of the survey, denied the implication contained in it that France was becoming "devitalized." If that were so, M. Dupraz asked, how could France maintain its present high living standard? As to the implications of industrial deficiency, the delegates pointed out that France was fourth in motor-car production. M. Philip stressed that by 1966 his country's demographic "stagnation" would be overcome and that the proportion of employables to total population would reach the pre-World War I level. He added that France, following a kind of "cautious Malenkovism," was shifting its emphasis from basic industries to agriculture and the processing industries.

The discussion showed that improvement in living standards continues to be one of Eastern Europe's primary objectives despite the recent emphasis on heavy industry resulting from increased international tensions. The Soviet Union's national income rose 11 per cent last year, with industry again making the largest contribution to the increase. In agriculture the most significant development was the Soviet government's plan to open to cultivation vast areas of virgin land in central Asia and Siberia. The country's population, which has been rising at the rate of 3,000,000 a year, reached 216,000,000 in 1954. Because of the rapid population increase, industrialization and urbanization are being pushed vigorously.

Trade relations between the Eastern and Western blocs are developing, but not as speedily as might be. The Communists are seeking to expand trade, especially with underdeveloped areas; recently the Eastern bloc has also resumed trade contacts with Yugoslavia. Most of the postwar period had seen a progressive deterioration in East-West trade relations, while intra-bloc trading increased. It was what Stalin characterized in 1952 as "two parallel world markets." The Communist countries, their spokesmen say, are trying to make the separation narrower. The West took an important step toward the same end in August, last year, by relaxing strategic controls. During the six months ending in November, 1954, the United Kingdom granted licenses for the export of $30,000,000 worth of machine tools to the Soviet Union. The United States, during the first half of 1954, approved export licenses to the amount of $7,000,000—not very much but in striking contrast to the $500,000 worth of licenses granted during the first half of 1953.

Prospects for East-West trade in farm products are favorable, judging by the statements of various delegates. The work accomplished in this field by the E. C. E.'s agricultural committee has been remarkable. As M. Wallon of France pointed out, agriculture—unlike industry—has few established facilities for international contact, a fact which lends special value to the role played by E. C. E.

The discussion of inter-regional trade confirmed the interest that the Chinese market holds for many countries. While the French wanted to limit the discussion to problems confronting U. N. members only, the British proposed a committee to study a Czech resolution asking for the inclusion of Communist China. Surely one reason for Britain's interest is the recent statement by Vincent Grantham of the Chartered Bank of India, Australasia, and China that Peking would welcome the participation of British banks in the financing of its foreign trade. Few British institutions were worse hit by the great change in China than the Eastern banks, which today seem anxious to reenter a once prosperous field.

THE general conclusion emerging from this session of E. C. E. is that both Eastern and Western blocs are becoming economically stronger and that the process would be hastened if East-West trade were allowed to develop unhampered by political considerations. In a closing speech urging greater East-West trade ties, Lord Reading of Britain expressed concern at signs that Russia and its associates were planning to steer future expansion in other directions (doubtless he was thinking of China, India, and other Asian markets). "I hope," he said, "this tendency will not become a permanent feature but that on the contrary trading will expand to the mutual advantage both of the East and of the West." Kumykin, the Soviet delegate, assured the conference that the Soviet Union was as determined as ever to develop trade with the West on the basis of reciprocal advantages.

Dupraz of France also deprecated the growth of intra-bloc as against inter-bloc trade; blaming both sides, he asserted that every step toward integration in one bloc was immediately followed by a similar step on the part of the other. "It is our mission," he said, "to show that the systems can coexist, that two world markets can exchange goods and work together to their mutual benefit." He summarized the purposes of the conferences perhaps as well as anyone when he expressed the conviction that one day the U. N.'s Economic and Social Council would exceed in importance the Security Council. Before adjourning, the conference arranged for trade experts from both sides of the Iron Curtain to meet here again next fall.

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PERILS UNKNOWN

Effects of the H-Bomb . . . *by Carey McWilliams*

AT THE moment the American people are in danger of being lulled into a sense of false security by the denial to them of pertinent information on both the strategic use of nuclear weapons and the possible consequences of further H-bomb tests. Despite a great deal of talk some time back about "Operation Candor," the Administration failed to enlighten the public on the possible consequences of the H-bomb fall-out until February 15, when on the President's order the A. E. C. finally released a report which, it now appears, had been withheld for three months for fear it would "adversely affect certain international situations"—an obvious reference to the pending ratification of the London agreements (New York *Times,* March 25).

Quite naturally, therefore, the report came as "a severe shock" to the American people, as the Federation of American Scientists notes, since there had been so little prior preparation to cushion its effect. In the intervening weeks a strong public opinion has begun to form. But the question now arises: Will this process of opinion-forming, which depends on the availability of relevant and reliable information, be continued? A very real danger exists that the process will be aborted by the denial to the people of further vital information. The problem has two major aspects, one relating to the possible consequences of continued H-bomb tests, the other to nuclear military strategy.

A series of recent incidents indicate that an attempt is being made to foreclose further discussion of the possible consequences of nuclear tests. The most significant occurred in Colorado. On March 13 Dr. Ray R. Lanier, head of the radiological department of the University of Colorado, and Dr. Theodore Puck, head of the biophysics department, jointly called public attention to the fact that the fall-out of radioactive dust from this spring's atomic tests in Nevada had reached a point where it could no longer be safely ignored. Their statement drew furious protests from Governor Johnson and Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver and reassuring words for the public from Senators Millikin and Allott. The Governor called the report "a phony," "a publicity stunt," and suggested that the two scientists should be arrested. He was particularly outraged that the report had been released at a press conference. Lanier and Puck replied that they had no desire to alarm the public needlessly but emphasized that "for the first time in the history of the Nevada tests the upsurge in radioactivity measured here has become appreciable" and added: "We feel strongly that our belief in the principle of public discussion of the problem in our democracy does not constitute grounds for an attack on our patriotism."

In relation to an earlier Nevada test the Denver *Post* of March 3 had quoted other local scientists as saying that geiger counters were going "wild" with "radiation thirty times normal, but safe." Lanier and Puck replied by scouting the notion that there is any determined "safe dosage" for radiation. To quote Dr. Lanier:

> The best guinea pigs for so-called safe-dosage studies have been the radiologists themselves. Doctors now try to keep below 300 milli-roentgens a week, but X-ray doctors have nine times the leukemia rate of the average citizens. They have five times the incidence of skin, kidney, and lung cancer. And they have more malformed children. Particularly for genetic damage, which may not show up for several generations, there is no known safe minimum dosage.

Both men emphasized that the best time to study and report on the fall-out problem and how to cope with it is now, while the development of atomic energy is in its infancy. Once big-scale atomic-power plants become widespread, the problem will be far more serious than it is today.

Dr. Frederick Soddy, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. Joseph Rotblat, and other scientists have issued statements strongly confirming the views of Drs. Lanier and Puck. According to Dr. Pauling, a recent Nobel prize-winner, the continued dispersal of radioactive materials into the atmosphere is creating a critical situation; constant irradiation of living cells may have begun a new cycle of leukemia victims or set in motion new hereditary mutations. Dr. Rotblat, professor of physics at London University—he worked for a time at Los Alamos—estimates that it would be safe for man to double the background of radiation that already exists naturally through cosmic rays and radioactive elements but that any higher rate would be "rather risky." The explosion of seventy-five hydrogen bombs over thirty years would double the natural rate. "Rough as this estimate may be," he adds, "it certainly shows that we are sailing much closer to the wind than any of us thought."

DESPITE these quite specific warnings, the American public is being fed a steady diet of reassuring articles and editorials, heavily discounting even the possibility of serious consequences from nuclear tests. For example, in a feature on The Facts About A-Bomb "Fall-out" the *U. S. News and World Report* on March 25 informed its readers that there is "not a word of truth in scare stories over tests." Anyone who had not read what the scientists have been saying about the tests might easily conclude from the article that radioactivity is a new vitamin; indeed, the article reads like a TV commercial announcing the discovery of a new wonder drug. "Tests have shown that fruit flies [note Dr. Muller's statement on page 304 of this issue] raised for 128 generations in highly

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radioactive surroundings ended up "hardier, more vigorous, more reproductive, with better resistance to disease." Even the fish contaminated in Japanese waters in last year's disastrous tests "could have been eaten if skinned."

Governor Johnson's rebuke to the scientists was vigorously upheld by David Lawrence in his syndicated column (March 20) on the ground that bomb "scares" are dangerous. Two days later the same Mr. Lawrence had kind words for Admiral Carney's statement to twenty Washington correspondents, which resulted in a provocative rash of war-scare headlines. Apparently certain kinds of "scares" are just dandy; others taboo. The people should have Carney's bootlegged views on Quemoy and Matsu but not facts essential to their survival.

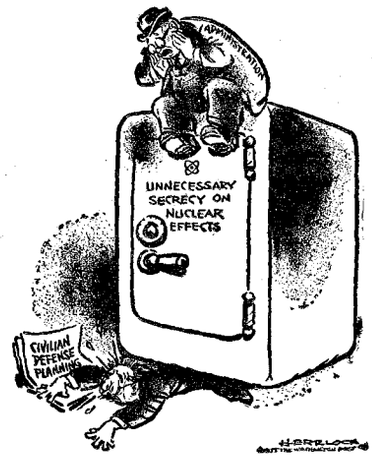
John C. Bugher of A. E. C. suggests that atomic radiation can cause genetic mutations but that it is still uncertain what the long-range effects on "the welfare and survival of populations" might be.

At the same hearing at which Dr. Bugher testified, Senator Kefauver raised the key issue. "The last thing this subcommittee wishes to be," he said, "is alarmist, but it is our view that for the maximum safety of the people it is time that the facts regarding these problems should be brought more fully into the light." The failure of the Administration to follow up the release of the fall-out report with a steady flow of relevant information is clearly endangering a civilian-defense program which to date has failed to win popular support. Both in Denver and Los Angeles public officials have been deluged with communications in which citizens have sought information about the possible consequences of radiation. The officials naturally attempt to "reassure" the citizenry by discounting the danger. But the more the danger is discounted the more difficult it becomes to get the people to take civilian defense seriously. In Los Angeles city and county officials blandly announced that evacuation in case of atomic attack had been "temporarily abandoned" as a basic policy (Los Angeles *Times*, March 10, 1955)! Two days later Colonel J. B. Colegrove, senior deputy director of Los Angeles civil defense, had to remind these officials that it was not up to them to make "basic policy" on such matters. "Under disaster conditions," he said, "you are going to get an evacuation of the civilian population of metropolitan areas whether you want it or not."

The issue, of course, has many ramifications. For example, Dr. George V. LeRoy, associate dean of the Division of Biological Sciences, University of Chicago, has testified that Japanese physicians have delivered public lectures in Japan based on material which is still classified as secret by the A. E. C. "In our atomic-energy program," he said, "it is difficult for me to understand the need for secrecy concerning the effects on man or animals of atomic radiations, flash burns, fission products, and 'fall-out.'" In the event of war, American physicians would have to care for the victims of nuclear bombings "regardless of how little or how much they know about the nature of the injuries that occur."

Clearly, the real cause for alarm is the attitude of officials who suggest that scientists should be arrested for telling the public what it has every right to be told. Even more alarming is the tendency to brand as suspect, if not subversive, all those who seek a moratorium on further H-bomb tests or who point up the dangers of fall-out. In an editorial on March 25 the New York *Daily News* entered a strenuous protest over the fact that Dr. Linus Pauling, on a recent NBC news interview, was "permitted to peddle the current Communist propaganda line that hydrogen- and atom-bomb experimental detonations are polluting the earth's atmosphere so as to endanger life and make probable a serious increase in births of abnormal babies."

IN PARALLEL fashion, an effort is being made to foreclose full-scale debate on nuclear strategy in or out of Congress. Congress, as James Reston notes, is much more interested in Yalta than in Quemoy and in almost anything more than in the one great issue of our time—survival. But Congress can be forced to shift issues only by an aroused public opinion, and the public, unfortunately, is not aroused, not having been properly informed. A few illustrations will suggest the extent of the information vacuum.



"Run for Your Life"

On returning from his recent visit to the Far East, Mr. Dulles discussed still a new policy: "less-than-massive" or "limited" retaliation based on the use of "small A-bombs" which, we are assured, can be delivered, like bullets, with pinpoint precision that would not endanger civilian populations. But Brigadier General Thomas A. Phillips, among other military analysts, advises us in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to take all this with a grain of salt. The kind of precision attainable under carefully controlled conditions in Nevada is not likely to be attained under battle conditions. In Nevada a vast painted bullseye, perfectly visible at 30,000 feet, is used to mark the target, over which the bomber makes two or three practice runs before he strikes.

Or, to take another illustration, how well is the American public informed on the crucial issue of our measure of superiority over Russia in nuclear power? On several occasions, as in interviews of March 31 and December 17, 1954, Admiral Strauss has assured us that we possess a substantial superiority. Some of the military analysts are not quite so sure. The Russians detonated an H-bomb six months before we did and, in the view of General Phillips, may now be well on the way to their first 1,000 hydrogen bombs. The Soviet Union is said to be rapidly overcoming our lead in long-range atomic carriers. "As seen by air-force officials," wrote the General last year, "the situation is increasingly serious." More recently, he

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said that a nation starting from scratch today with a billion dollars might have 1,000 H-bombs in three years.

Now that the British propose to construct H-bombs, other nations are clamoring for atomic weapons, and the clamor will grow louder. Will West Germany's twelve divisions be equipped with nuclear weapons- Japan, Premier Hatoyama assures us, does not intend to renounce its ambitions to possess them. South Korea's Rhee, whose hand-picked National Assembly has voted unanimously to declare the Korean truce void, wants them and so, it may be assumed, does Chiang Kai-shek. In short, the question of relative advantage could hardly be more fluid than it is at the moment.

But the public assumes that we have a marked advantage and therefore tends to be complacent, while Congress is simply incredulous in the face of evidence which undercuts its prejudices. For example, the Washington *Post* recently reported that a Congressional subcommittee appeared "somewhat skeptical" when told by a number of American scientists that Russia has already surpassed the United States in the production of engineers and is approaching us in the development of scientists. Dr. C. E. Sunderlin, deputy director of the National Science Foundation, assured the subcommittee that nine out of ten American physicists believe that Russian progress in such fields as solid-state and low-temperature physics is equal to that in this country. Dr. Alan T. Waterman, the director, added that Russian scientists are "doing an extremely fine job in mathematics and a very good job in astronomy." The testimony was not headlined.

The same lack of information may be noted in other areas. Under the Atomic Energy Act the President alone can authorize the use of atomic weapons. But one may venture the suggestion that the public is not generally aware that plans have already been drawn up defining certain contingencies under which the military authorities could take retaliatory action without the immediate approval of the President. The power of the NATO command in this respect is not fully understood. As tension mounts, the tendency will be to provide for ever more far-fetched contingencies. Hanson W. Baldwin, writing in the New York *Times* of December 21, 1954, points to the danger of the "automatic reflex" which is being conditioned:

> Atomic arms are now aboard United States aircraft carriers, at bases of the United States air force, and with operational units of the army. The procedures for authorization for use have been simplified and channels of communication improved so that almost instantaneous response to an emergency is possible.
>
> The great danger is whether or not the pendulum is swinging too far. Many of the air force believe the price of survival means beating the enemy to the first atomic punch. More and more military commanders are coming to regard tactical atomic weapons as just another part of their armory to be used as their judgment determines if war starts.
>
> But this very decentralization of authority and insistence upon speed of decision could commit the United States, in some future time, without much reason or judgment and perhaps without actual necessity, to an all-out atomic war.

One may assume, too, that the public is not fully aware of the extent to which some military officials are united in the belief that we would be justified in using nuclear weapons to launch a war. Recently Cassandra, the well-known columnist of the London *Daily Mirror*, reported that General LeMay had told him: "When it comes to trading knock-out punches . . . it might not be the best policy to sit and wait until you are hit so hard that you never wake up again." Nor is the public generally aware that a preventive-war nuclear strike might so poison the atmosphere with radioactive particles that the fall-out,

Disaster by Instalments

by H. J. Muller

Responsible geneticists the world over would certainly concur in the statement made by Dr. C. H. Waddington in his article in The Nation (February 19, 1955) that the vast majority of mutations produced by radiation are harmful. Probably most of them would go a good deal farther than Dr. Waddington.

In the most accurately studied genetic material, fruit flies, it has long been known that there are vastly more mutations producing hidden, slightly harmful effects than those producing drastic or easily recognizable ones. There is ground for inferring that this principle holds throughout living things. What is not so commonly realized is that each invisible, slightly harmful mutation occasions an amount of damage in later generations comparable to that arising from the birth of a "monster." This is because the "small" mutation survives through so many more generations as to do a great amount of scattered harm. By the accumulation of many of these small mutations a population can become genetically debilitated.

The large-scale and meticulous experiments carried out over the past six years by the Russells working at Oak Ridge indicate clearly that the genetic damage in organisms closer to man (represented in their work by mice) is much greater, perhaps ten times as great, as in fruit flies. It is significant that this very reliable and costly work was carried out under the auspices of the Atomic Energy Commission and is cited in its reports.

The whole subject needs further study. We already know enough to indicate that an all-out war utilizing atomic energy might so debilitate the descendants of the survivors in the more technically advanced countries as to make them significantly inferior, genetically, to the populations of the technically less advanced countries, whose ancestral germ cells would presumably have been subjected to far less radiation, not only from atomic warfare but also in the course of medical and industrial procedures. At present we in this country undoubtedly receive far more radiation from peace-time operations than as a result of atomic tests.

H. J. MULLER is professor of zoology at Indiana University, Nobel laureate in physiology (1946), co-author of "Genetics, Medicine, and Man" (1947), and was president of the Eighth International Genetics Congress (1948).

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blown homeward, might endanger the attacking nation. In a somber interview reported in the Los Angeles *Times* on March 13, 1955, Dr. Norris Bradbury, director of the laboratory at Los Alamos, used the expressive phrase: "He [the enemy] may die faster sooner, and I may die slower later."

The day is not far distant, we are told, when a hydrogen bomb with a megaton rating (the equivalent in blasting power of a million tons of TNT) will be small enough to be carried by a single-seater fighter-bomber. "With the reduction in size of atomic bombs," writes General Phillips, "covert introduction into the United States becomes easy. A small atomic bomb can be made in three pieces with a five-inch tube and two ends which screw on. It could be assembled in the dark with the help of no tool other than a belt buckle. It could be brought in in s e p a r a t e pieces in ordinary baggage."

And just what was the meaning of the curious remark which Sir Anthony Eden made in response to a question by Mr. Attlee in the closing moments of the recent British debate on the H-bomb? A new and substantial difficulty, he said, had arisen—namely, that experiments were now possible "without a bang." Almost the same phrase was used by Dr. Norris Bradbury in the Los Angeles interview mentioned above. "The problem of military application," Dr. Bradbury said, "is not necessarily confined to making big bangs." Does this mean that weapons other than bombs and warheads are in the making of such a character that known techniques would not indicate when tests were being made?

In view of these possibilities, the constitutional issue which was delicately suggested but never really debated when Mr. Dulles first announced the policy of "massive instant retaliation" has now receded into a forgotten past—a quaint relic of what might have been the greatest debate ever staged in Congress. How far back in time today sound the words of the late Senator Robert Taft: "The fundamental issue [on Korea] was, and is, whether the President shall decide when the United States shall go to war or whether the people of the United States themselves shall make that decision." But today the people cannot make the decision without information, and they cannot get information unless they demand it in much louder terms than have been used. The people must also realize that key policy decisions are being made by a curious zigzag, piecemeal process which operates almost independently of the will of their representatives, that is, in the absence of clearly formulated policies. As Aneurin Bevan said in the recent debate in the British Parliament: "We cannot discuss this White Paper [proposing British manufacture of the H-bomb] as though what we are doing is providing the *instrument* of policy alone—because when the instrument which we are proposing to create is absolute, policy is intrinsically the instrument itself . . . because the weapon being absolute, it is also policy." Every operational decision involves policy, and policy is therefore b e i n g continuously shaped, almost every day, in a manner of which the people are wholly unaware and which forecloses subsequent debate on broad principles. Each step in the process is or tends to be "a point of no return."

FROM all this, certain limited conclusions can be readily drawn. The Administration should issue a White Paper summarizing all that is known about the consequences of A- and H-bomb explosions and it should keep this information current. It should also attempt to state, clearly and in one document, the main features of American policy in reference to the use of nuclear weapons. The people should not be encouraged to take refuge in Churchill's proposition that a "saturation" point might be reached which, by a process of mutual terrorization, would insure the peace. Here General MacArthur is clearly right: when the saturation point is reached you get not safety but "spontaneous combustion." Instead of mulling over the Yalta papers like a dog over its vomit, let Congress insist upon a clarification of current policy and then debate the Administration's proposals so that the people may have the benefit of an informed discussion.

The nature of the problem facing the American public interested in peace is suggested by a recent statement by Dr. Donald Soper, leader of the British peace movement, which appeared in the London *News-Chronicle* of March 10:

> Why, if we want peace, are we tottering on the edge of total disaster?
>
> I believe the answer is that violence creates, sooner or later, a state of paralysis—it produces a set of ideas and a complex of conditions in which it is impossible to obtain peace. . . Armament programs must be carried out secretly; no government can tell the truth to any other government, and so a smog of suspicion hangs over the nations.
>
> Strength to fight a war, or to frighten a possible aggressor from starting one, means that small nations must seek big brothers, who not only watch them but occupy them as well, until vast supra-national armed blocs peer and glare at one another through various sorts of curtains. . . .
>
> What surely is needed is some power to break through this vicious circle—some action to initiate the disarmament that every n a t i o n promises to undertake when someone else starts it, some action to rescue truth and common sense from the madhouse of fear, some action to reduce suspicion and give a chance for decency and friendliness to grow again. What we need is a new dynamic to get peacemaking under way.

The fact that the Russian people may suffer from a frustration no less acute than our own does not lessen the force of this statement.

Perhaps the coming Conference on World Disarmament and Development, which will be held in Chicago on April 30, will initiate action to end the frustration of American opinion. This year's conference is a follow-up on the 1953 Washington Workshop and the 1954 Conference on World Disarmament and Development, which was held in New York. Supporting organizations include the American Association for the United Nations, the American Baptist Convention, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Veterans Committee, the Church Peace Union, the Citizens Conference on International Economic Union, the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, the Methodist Church Board of World Peace, the Post-War World Council, the United Church Women, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In the meantime the suggestion of the Federation of American Scientists for the establishment of a U. N.

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commission to study and report on the consequences of atomic explosions merits the widest support. It should be linked with a popular demand for the cessation of further H-bomb tests. Fortunately the President seems to have recognized the importance of an informed public opinion. His appointment of Harold Stassen as Presidential assistant for disarmament suggests that a concerted effort will now be made to call into being the creative power and imagination of the people themselves. It is a good sign.

TIME AGAINST RACE

South Africa's 100-Year Plan . . *by R. K. Chase*

Johannesburg

WHITE South Africans are hypersensitive to what the world says of them. So it was a sore point even to Dr. Malan's political opponents when the ex-Prime Minister was described in Britain, America, and elsewhere as "the world's most hated man." The struggle over his succession was watched here with intense misgivings, and the victory of Johannes Strijdom was seen by all but the extremist section of the Afrikaner Nationalists as a step in the wrong direction. Could anyone be worse than "the world's most hated man"? It would appear so.

By a remarkable irony Mr. Strijdom's victory is turning into a hollow one even for his supporters. So far he has shown himself to be a leader unable to lead. Ashen-faced and gaunt, the victim of a heart affection, he sits on his front bench in Parliament and the wordy storms fly over his head. Often that head which was to have been crowned with the presidential laurel in the new republic falls forward on his arms either in sleep or in pain. Mr. Strijdom is sixty-one. He may recover; he may yet be the president who, in the words of the Nationalist draft constitution of 1941, will be "directly and only responsible to God." But there are sober doubts. In the parliamentary lobbies, opinion gives Mr. Strijdom's leadership a future of six months to two years.

At all events it is not in the nerveless fingers of this former "lion of the north" that the active direction of South Africa's affairs lies. The effective leader, towering above his fellows by virtue of their relative insignificance, is the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd. Political speculation is even now busy with his name as the country's next prime minister.

Dr. Verwoerd is the son of a German missionary. Tradition has it that during the First World War young Verwoerd, together with the family, said a prayer for victory each night before a portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm. World War II found Verwoerd with a new object of adoration, Adolf Hitler. He was then editor of *Die Transvaler*, the most extreme Nationalist paper, and under the tolerant rule of Field Marshal Smuts he ran it as little less than a fifth-column organ. In a memorable court action a judge of the Supreme Court found that *Die Transvaler* supported Nazi propaganda and that Dr. Verwoerd had "made the paper a tool of it in South Africa."

VERWOERD and his colleagues symbolize a turning point in South Africa's development. The old Nationalism led by the late General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga—whom Strijdom ousted from the premiership—had successfully carried through its political objectives: the freeing of the Afrikaner people, the establishment of the Afrikaans language and culture on a parity with English, and, by the Statute of Westminister in 1931, the establishment of the Union as a free, equal partner in the Commonwealth. This older Nationalism was deeply attached to the parliamentary system of government through which it had gained such spectacular victories. After 1931 its leaders regarded the republican issue as "academic" and, more important, vaguely conceded that at some future date the black African population would have to be permitted greater political rights. The old Nationalist leaders failed to face up squarely to either question, however, principally because the slow pace of African political development never made it necessary. The "evil" day was postponed. Now it has arrived.

The present Nationalist government is not the spiritual heir to the older Nationalism. General Hertzog and his colleagues were mainly men who had fought on the battlefields of the Boer War of 1899-1902 against British imperialism. Their subsequent political victory was a peaceful reversal of the decision by arms. Between them and the new men now in power there has been a deep break. The latter, backed by their fanatical ranks, are in ideology the heirs of the Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda.

The Nationalist draft constitution of 1941, which was to be put into effect by collusion with a victorious Hitler, has never been repudiated by the party which wrote it. It remains the blueprint for South Africa's future in the impractical minds of Dr. Verwoerd and his friends. So far as the whites are concerned, the country would be a one-language, one-party, one-flag dictatorship. The draft constitution's application to the non-white majority is summed up in the word *apartheid*.

Since 1948, when Dr. Malan first came into power with the Nationalist government, there has been endless dispute over the exact mean-

R. KENNET CHASE is the pen name of a South African writer.

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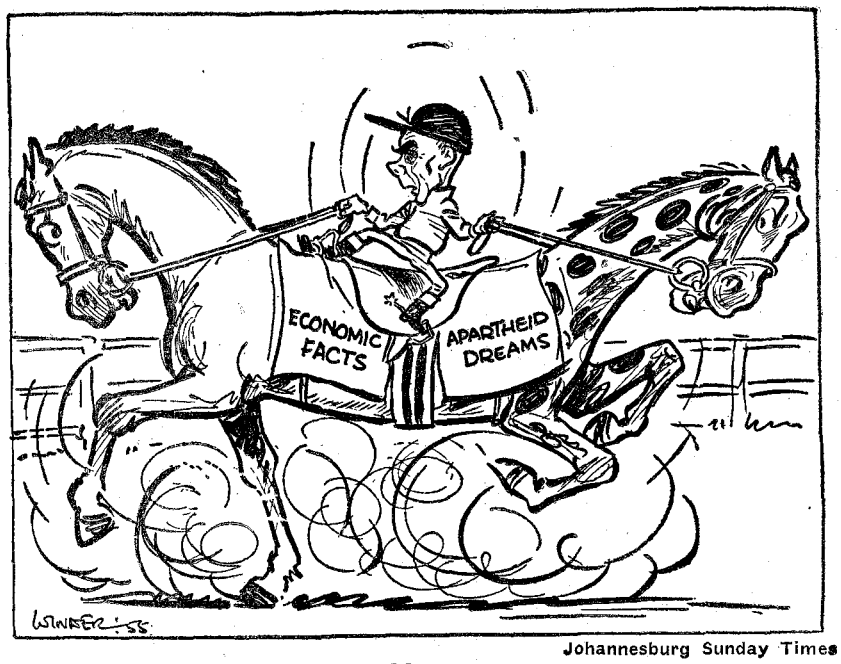
ing of *apartheid*. Some said it was nothing more than an election slogan, and was not much different from the traditional white policy of keeping the whip hand over the non-whites. Others thought it implied the setting up of completely separated autonomous black areas—"Bantustans" on the lines of Pakistan. No doubt the confusion sprang from certain internal disagreements among the Nationalists themselves. Malan, Havenga, and others of the old school could not go all the way with the extreme ideologists.

A patchwork of laws was passed at succeeding sessions of Parliament. Until recently the laws failed to give any clear pattern for *apartheid*, but they did clear the way toward an authoritarian regime. They gave the government power to rule by decree, to suspend the courts, suppress newspapers, outlaw persons and deprive them of their living, close down churches and schools, enter and search any premises without warrants, suppress all rights of assembly, speech, and procession. The government can violate the mails, confiscate property, dismember organizations, and deport citizens. Some of the powers have already been used, mainly against the already underprivileged non-whites. Others are kept "on ice." Still others used by the Nationalist parliamentary majority to disfranchise the Cape-colored (mixed race) voters, have been declared unconstitutional by the Appeal Court.

The Nationalists find it difficult to impose a dictatorial regime within the framework of a parliamentary system which retains such democratic institutions as an independent judiciary. Hence their impatience. They have already gone far to destroy representative government. Their 94 members in Parliament represent 643,000 voters; the 62 opposition members represent 775,000. And the voting figures in turn must be measured against South Africa's total population of 13,000,000 people. Here is reason enough for the Nationalist Party's neurosis—delusions of grandeur along with feelings of basic insecurity.

SINCE the first of the year the meaning of *apartheid* has become increasingly clarified. While Mr. Strijdom's health remains impaired,



Johannesburg Sunday Times

Problem Pony

Dr. Verwoerd has had a free hand to expound his creed. He has done so with an astounding singleness of mind and a still more impressive lack of realism. Some observers have called him the "Alfred Rosenberg of South African Nationalism." While Verwoerd has never advocated genocide, the comparison with Hitler's mystical theorist holds true in many respects. The Nationalist leader can be remarkably plausible in support of fallacious premises. Throughout his career he has a consistent record of being proved wrong; yet he clings to his theories as if they had a validity superior to political, economic, or social fact. His plan for *apartheid* is roughly as follows:

1. In the next fifty years measures for the eventual complete separation of the races will be carried out. During this time the entire process of African advancement toward civilization will be arrested. All Africans, now officially called Bantu, will be removed from towns and white-farming areas and squeezed back into the reserves, which by the year 2,000 will include the three British territories—Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland.

2. In order to minimize the shock to the country's economic system—for Africans provide about nine-tenths of the labor for farms, mines, and industry—the transfer will be affected by the gradual elimination of the African family everywhere outside the reserves. Black workers, fragmented and forbidden the right to organize, will become a commodity supplied at will where needed just as electricity may be tapped from a grid.

3. In a second fifty-year period industrial development will be permitted only on the fringes of the labor pools in the Bantu reserves.

During the century covered by the plan, separation will be more and more strictly enforced until the white race has finally disentangled itself from every form of contact with persons of color save the supervision of their labor. In their reserves the Bantu will be forced to revert to a kind of revised tribalism invented for them by Dr. Verwoerd.

At present the reserves, excluding the British territories, are already overcrowded with a population of 3,100,000 Africans. Another 6,000,000 live on white farms and in towns. By the end of fifty years it is estimated that the African population of South Africa will be nearly 20,000,000. The problem of forcing this colossal djin back into an already bursting bottle does not deter Dr. Verwoerd.

JOURNALISTS from all parts of the world recently witnessed one of Verwoerd's first "successes" in his fifty-year period of preparation. Overawed by 2,000 police armed with automatic weapons, some 120 African families were moved from an old township near Johannesburg to

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a new one fifteen miles away in the veld. The move went off without incident. Altogether some 80,000 black people are to be moved from the same place by the police and military. The process is called cleaning up a "black spot." In reality a "black spot" means anywhere a black man can own freehold property. In the new township he will not be permitted to own a freehold; he will, as a matter of fact, enjoy no security at all as tenant or resident anywhere outside the reserve. Where he is allowed temporary tenure in a white area, every minute of his life is spent under the supervision of the Department of Native Affairs.

Last year Dr. Verwoerd, through Parliament, seized control of the education of Africans. He has wrested hundreds of schools from the missions of various denominations, including many endowed and run for generations by American churches. Only the Roman Catholics and some sections of the Anglicans stubbornly held on to their schools. The purpose of the new "Bantu education" was described by Dr. Verwoerd: "There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor."

The Native Affairs Department has been turned into a fantastic personal empire in which one man rules over nine million. To Verwoerd, the dictator, these millions are mere counters with which he plays an unreal game on a mythical checkerboard. Incredible? But it must be remembered that the Union of South Africa is the only country in the world where racial discrimination is sanctioned not only by law but by the principal church—the Dutch Reform church. Fifty years is a long time for a checkers game to last, no matter what color the counters.

ANTI-ANTI-TRUST DRIVE

Big Business Lays Plans . . . *by Leland A. Traywick*

SINCE the first of the year a series of events has put the problem of monopoly again into the spotlight. Congressional hearings have been held on the President's "Economic Report" relative to the current wave of big-business mergers. The publication of J. D. Glover's "The Attack on Big Business" under the imprimature of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration has aroused considerable interest. *Look* has published the results of a poll by the Opinion Research Corporation which purport to show that "people, ten to one, indorse the idea of big business." While not so planned, this barrage of praise for big business is preparing the public to accept any weakening of anti-trust enforcement which may be proposed on the basis of the Justice Department's anti-trust report, which was released April 1.

Big business is spending larger sums than ever before to win over public opinion. Nor are the efforts of corporation publicists, with their huge staffs and almost tax-free expense accounts, confined to the conventional radio, TV, newspaper, and magazine channels. Relatively new and increasingly important is big-business largess to higher education. In January, General Motors announced a gift program totaling $2,000,000 a year. Similar programs have been announced by General Electric, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Foods, CBS, Armstrong Cork, and Walter Kidde. The Ford Motors Company Fund—different from the Ford Foundation—gave more than $1,000,000 last year and will doubtless give as much this year. The country's largest brokerage house intends to make large gifts. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the gift total to educational institutions this year will exceed the 1953 peak of $58,000,000. In addition to cash outlays, big business finances faculty seminars, scholarships, and other forms of help to colleges.

Such donations are cheaper than paying taxes; they are also an investment. While few gifts have direct strings attached, the indirect strings are just as effective. Private colleges are particularly hard-pressed in these inflationary times. Comments the *Wall Street Journal*, pointing up one significant result of the aid program: some professors get raises. Who, the donors may well ask themselves, bites the hand that feeds him?

Professor Glover's "The Attack on Big Business" subtly defends bigness by ridiculing the attacks which have been made upon it. Basically the attacks are twofold: big business is inefficient, and it is monopolistic. Dr. Glover deals with the efficiency arguments by innuendo: big business owes its growth to efficiency; it can be managed efficiently; statistics reveal its efficiency. But where industry studies have been made, the conclusion is that big business is not *ipso facto* efficient. Such studies have been made in petroleum, fertilizers, cement, rubber tires, wheat-flour milling, bread-baking, steel, and farm machinery. The raison d'etre for industrial bigness is not efficiency but power and market domination.

Glover argues that big business is not monopolistic but is regulated by what economists call "workable competition." This means essentially that "structural competition," which flows from the presence in the market of many sellers of the same commodity, has given way to an in-between arrangement which yields competition between alternative commodities. Since choices are still available, Glover and others claim that competition still exists. But this argument ignores the price-

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leadership mechanism which tends to unify big-business "competitors"; it ignores unwritten price agreements, patent pools, cross-licensing arrangements, mergers for price-fixing reasons, lobbies, subsidies, interlocking directorates, and powerful aggregations of banks and industrial firms. In reality "workable competition" has become "workable monopoly."

THE Opinion Research Corporation's poll turned out to be an even more forthright defense of big business than Glover's book. According to the results, the public is convinced that (1) big business provides jobs; (2) big business promotes research and hence improves living standards; (3) big business is the backbone of defense. These points should be answered seriatim.

Does big business provide the most jobs? Department of Commerce figures show that 54 per cent of all employed are working for firms with pay rolls of 500 or less. Data from the same source show that 55 per cent of the increase in employment in recent years has come from firms which employ fewer than twenty workers. A point not covered by the statistics is the kind of job which big business too often provides—assembly-line workers, file clerks, order-taking drudges.

Does big business promote research? H. Stafford Hatfield, in his excellent study entitled "The Inventor and His World," remarks: "It is frequently said . . . that advance in the future will come exclusively from the magnificently equipped research laboratories of the great trusts and corporations. There is no evidence of this except the *ipse dixit* of the corporations themselves." He lists the following inventions which have come not from great research laboratories but from the independent work of individuals—monotype, case-hardening of steel, photogravure, moving pictures, the dial telephone, Diesel engines, carborundum, the telegraph and telephone, electric-train control, submarines, safety razors, airplanes, bakelite, gyrocompasses. "The very latest example of the victory of individualism in invention," he adds, "is television, worked out by a young Scotsman with the slenderest resources in a cellar in Soho."

Harvard University studies have shown that, computed as a percentage of sales, small business spends four times as much on research as does big business. And such research as big business accomplishes does not always spell progress. Remarks Arthur A. Bright, Jr.:

> When General Electric did bring out the hot-cathode fluorescent lamp, the new lamp was initially promoted only for decorative and supplementary lighting. The lack of a strong competitive pressure permitted General Electric to concentrate its attention on improving the older incandescent lamp which would not endanger its established interest in the status quo. My own conclusion, therefore, is that General Electric's control over the lamp industry has not provided an ideal environment for the rapid development and introduction of major new light sources.

Methyl methacrylate, one of the best-known plastics, is controlled monopolistically by duPont, Rohn and Hass. It was sold for 85 cents a pound for industrial use. But the very same product was sold to the dental profession for $45 a pound! Is that what the chemical industry means by its slogan, "Better things for a better tomorrow, through chemistry"?

Is big business the backbone of defense? The concentration of economic power which took place during World War II was due largely to the distribution of the lion's share of war contracts to a handful of firms. The concentration was intensified during the Korean conflict. Ten large manufacturing companies handled 30 per cent of the war-contract dollar volume during World War II; the same firms handled 40 per cent during the Korean war. Moreover, as the Senate Select Committee on Small Business pointed out, these firms refused to subcontract unless their own plants were operating at 100 per cent capacity. When the president of General Motors became Secretary of Defense, the former Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Marshall had ready for him a procurement plan which would have spread production in order (1) to have available many plants capable of quick output expansion in case of emergency, and (2) to avoid putting all our production eggs in a few baskets reachable by a couple of A-bombs. Secretary Wilson did not go along. In the first eighteen months of the Eisenhower Administration, $1,700,000,000 in contracts went to General Motors while contracts going to other firms declined by $395,000,000. If big business is the backbone of our defense, it is because the Administration has made it so. And it is a brittle backbone.

PARTLY as a result of public apathy, the anti-trust laws have become all but atrophied from disuse. Since 1952 government anti-trust actions against General Electric, Westinghouse, A. and P., Montgomery Ward, the Aluminum Company of America, the Celanese Corporation, Servel, and Eastman Kodak have been settled out of court without any attempt at vigorous prosecution. More recently the duPont and investment bankers' cases were thrown out of court, and instead of protests there has been only the soft applause of well-gloved hands. Despite a 1948 Supreme Court decision ordering vertical divorcement in the motion-picture industry, the Federal Communications Commission in 1953 authorized the merger of the American Broadcasting Company and United Paramount Theaters and acquiesced in the control of Paramount Pictures by Dumont television. The post-Korean mergers continue; in January it was announced that the Chase National Bank would merge with the Bank of the Manhattan Company. In New York City alone fourteen large banks have merged in the last seven years.

How can this movement be stopped? There are two obvious answers: the anti-trust laws must be strengthened and enforced, and government aids to monopoly—in the form of commission rulings, defense contracts, and so on—must cease. But obviously a big-business Administration will do neither. Ultimately the solution lies in a public made aware of the meaning of economic democracy and demanding its incorporation into the fabric of American life. Economic democracy envisions the breakdown of giant holdings into efficient autonomous plants. It means the decentralization though not the atomization of big business and a return to competitive capitalism.

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BOOKS

In Search of the Question

SECULARISM IS THE WILL OF GOD. By Horace M. Kallen. Twayne Publishers. $4.

THE THIRD REVOLUTION. A Study of Psychiatry and Religion. By Karl Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

FRAGMENTS OF AN ANALYSIS WITH FREUD. By Joseph Wortis. Simon and Schuster. $3.

THE FACE OF VIOLENCE. An Essay with a Play. By J. Bronowski. George Braziller. $2.75.

By Waldo Frank

NO TIME, no culture, known to man, from the peaceful Arapesh to the Victorian, has been without anxiety. The modisn notion that ours is *the* anxious age reveals that, despite our anthropologists and psychologists, we are as egocentric as were the other ages. Anxiety, distinguished from fear, is the constant of man's consciousness that he is submerged in mystery and that mystery is within him. Fear and pain, since they distract from this metaphysical awareness by pinning the attention upon specific problems, are a relief from it. The flood of information in which we confusedly coexist anesthetizes it. If we must have a label for our time, it might more properly be "the age of immediate solutions"—of substitute informations which, abstracting us from the experience of life as an organic whole, blur our anxiety with fragmentary faiths, with swift false panaceas, with anesthetic arts—and with deadly danger.

The common trait of all these solaces is that they soon reveal that they solve nothing. They are like the symptom of the neurotic which masks an unacceptable desire, for the sake of the peace which the symptom is designed to—and yet does not—bring. The solution is a cheat; the neurotic deeply knows it, although he can do nothing but perhaps substitute another for it. At all costs, the true desire must not be admitted! Similarly, the endless flow of books devoted to our time and its specific troubles concur in their earnest efforts to hide the imperative of our anxiety by continuing some fragmentary past solution that is no longer valid.

The four volumes I have grouped together almost at random have the family resemblance of contemporaneity. After all, men who pass on the street have in common that they live in the same place and hour; and although they are strangers, even foes, much of the personality of the age can be inferred from them.

Dr. Kallen's latest volume continues the richly implemented ardor for human liberty which has filled and distinguished his career. He pleads for an "orchestration" of religions on the theme of union of values and of pluralism in their expression. Toleration would be as inappropriate to describe this catholicity as it would be to describe the attitude of one instrument in a symphony toward another. Religions, he says, become intolerant and aggressive in so far as they defend what is least sure in them—the exclusive, dogmatic possession of "the" truth. They must learn to live happily together by accepting their relativity and a faith in reason. The norm for their knowledge he would have them obtain from science, which gets along without bloody crusades and inquisitions. Dr. Kallen is eloquent on the two more aggressive religions of our day—communism and Roman Catholicism. But his thesis is undermined by his failure to distinguish between the knowledge of science and the knowledge of religion. The latter, his pragmatic empiricism forces him to reject—on the false premise of confusing the knowledge with its dogmatic forms; on the other hand, the possessor of the insights of religion would deny to the abstractions of science the term "knowledge" altogether. This is a schism which must be healed if our culture is to survive. It will never be done by even the most erudite and liberal thinker whose premise fails to recognize the essential difference of the one knowledge from the other.

Dr. Kallen is right about the mounting danger of dogmatism—although he fails to identify the implicit dogmas of his own camp. He is wrong in his belief that dogmatism can be avoided by "faith" in the findings of science which does not embrace the domain of the reality of religion. The intolerance and the dogma issue not from the nature of religious knowledge but from the interpretations by which the ego deforms the knowledge. And not less banefully—and more covertly—science also has its intolerances and dogmas. In "War and Peace" Tolstoi wrote: "If it is admitted that human life can be directed by reason, then the possibility of life is annihilated." This is not irrationalism; it is simply an insight that reason as the regulator of human life must have a matrix and source which transcend it. That knowledge must be possessed and rationaliy developed.

DR. KARL STERN, a German psychiatrist now teaching and practicing in Canada, is also a man of noble hungers. His book is important because it dissociates clearly the methodological values of psychoanalysis from the ideologies implicit in Freud and in most of his followers and dissenters. Dr. Stern brilliantly discloses the unscientific dogmas in such of Freud's statements as that "God is *nothing but* the father; the Sacrament *nothing but* cannibalistic oral introjection; etc." He compares the growth of the human psyche to that of the human fetus, which recapitulates a long biologic process in order to issue upon normal birth. Freud's philosophy, already dated when he imbibed it in his youth, regards man as if his "fetal" psychological nature were his maturity. And the later schools, with their equally unbalanced accent on the social, merely variate the error.

Of course, Eastern psychology had

WALDO FRANK is a distinguished novelist and cultural critic.

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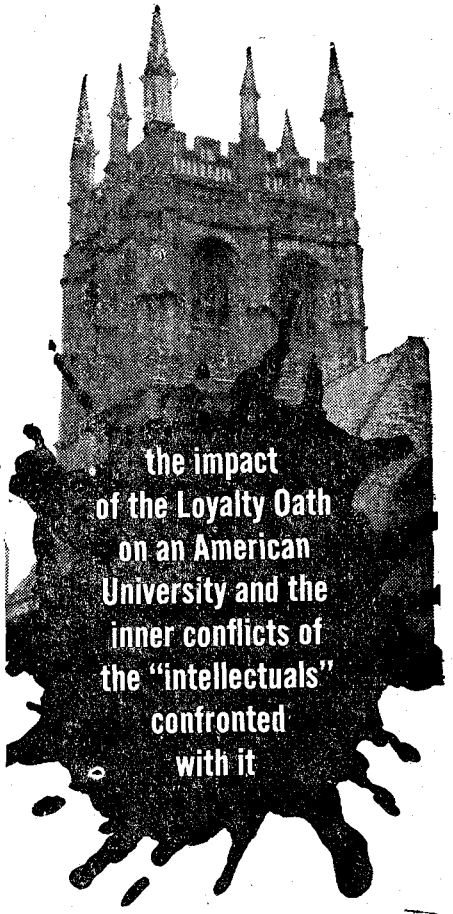
refuted this truncated view of man's nature ages before Europe pronounced it. Dr. Stern is a devout Catholic. The normative human knowledge of metaphysical transcendence which he naturalizes into his psychological view therefore takes the form of an orthodox theology. And this limits his book's usefulness for those to whom his terms may appear provincial and obsolescent. But the reader who can "translate" the idiom of a theology into his own terms of meaning will find "The Third Revolution" a remunerative volume.

DR. WORTIS, a young psychiatrist sponsored by Havelock Ellis and Adolph Meyer, underwent a didactic analysis with Freud in Vienna in 1934. His book consists largely of the notes written down, fresh and crude, after each hour's session. A vivid, magnificent old man emerges —doctrinaire, Mosaic in his devotion to his own Word, yet imprisoned in the "Egypt" of bourgeois Vienna to which his philosophy conformed. The young analysant disagreed, resisted, and revered. Already his dissents tilted him toward the social schools of Fromm and Horney, Sullivan and Burrow. Their value in this book is chiefly aesthetic; they angered the master and made him eloquent. (For example, to the question "What is sublimation? Is it conscious or unconscious?" he has Freud answer: *"Everything is unconscious."*)

Dr. J. Bronowski, mathematician, statistician, and economist, author of books on "The Common Sense of Science" and on William Blake, is one of the rare men of our day who endeavor to carry forward the great tradition of Leibniz and Whitehead in merging the exact disciplines of the sciences for the construction of a general human picture. His little volume "The Face of Violence" consists of an essay that is theatrical and of a play that is dull as the schema for an essay. The play, first broadcast by the B.B.C., received the Italia prize as one of the two "best new plays broadcast in Europe during 1950-51," an award which, if it was just, reveals the low level of radio drama. The author's method, as poet, is to let his bare allegoric characters—as in the drama of medieval Europe—announce their role and then describe their action. In the best of the old Mysteries the schematic personae draw substance from the vital human milieu. In this opus both character and language vaporize to a haze that is not even dimly opalescent. The author's purpose is better served in his essay. What he is trying to reveal is the creative value within man's violence —the spiritual content of the anxiety which it expresses and which all cultures expressed in such practices as the sacrifice of the king, the scapegoat, the romanticizing of crime.

The Doctor has read his Frazer and his Freud. He has nothing new to add, and what he says is far too haphazard to be good sociology or art. But the book's impulse is important, for it refuses to take "the face of violence," grimly confronting us all, at its face value or to preach against it. His lesson is that we should cease throwing up our hands in horror at the violence our society excretes, since neither the hands nor the horror can deter it, and strive rather to understand the creative principle within aggression. The old societies instinctively formed myths, ceremonies, institutions through which the need of revolt was stabilized within the culture—and enriched it. We who feel ourselves superior to myth and sacrament, and who are manned with instruments of destruction that make us more fragile than the most vulnerable culture of New Guinea, run the risk of letting our fear of the violence within us overwhelm and destroy us. Beyond this single note Dr. Bronowski hardly ventures.

THESE are all honorable books; but their answers are fractions because the premises in their questions are fractions. The appeal for faith in reason will continue to lack substance while the present definitions of faith and reason prevail. The approaches to problems of anxiety will continue to be futile while the organic meaning of anxiety is ignored. The correct analysis of such traits as violence and aggression will never tame the lethal trends of our culture while we continue to respond to an image of self whose inevitable reflection is such monstrosities as "defensive" bombs, "just" wars, and the equally deadly anesthetic arts of our peace.



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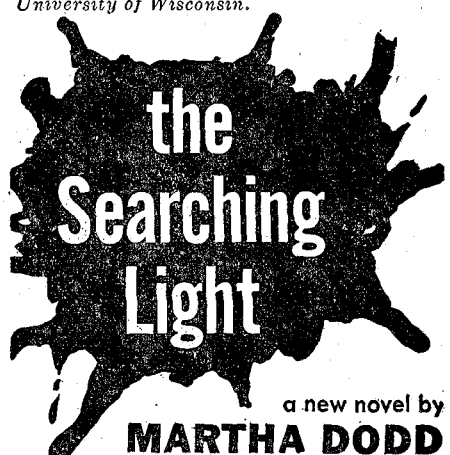

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Defense of TV

CLEAR CHANNELS. By Max Wylie. Funk and Wagnalls. $4.75.

By Hazel Cooley

NOT a great many books have yet been written about television; therefore when a new book on the subject appears, it is opened with considerable expectancy. "Clear Channels" does not fulfil the reader's hope.

Without thoughtful preface or introduction, it attacks all individuals and groups which have ventured to criticize television. The author, a radio writer and novelist now associated with the TV-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation, is obviously passionately devoted to TV, but his vitriolic defense of a medium that is doing so well seems a waste of time and energy. In spite of whatever criticism there has been, the fact is that television is thriving. With 33,000,000 receiving sets, according to the latest count, now in use in this country, representing an investment of billions of dollars, it is clear that the American people have warmly accepted TV, despite its admitted shortcomings.

The author calls the book "A Report to Set Owners." The book's jacket explains:

> There is plenty of sound and fury in the controversy, but Max Wylie has had the happy thought of adding some sense to the uproar. Frankly irked by the incomplete thinking and unproved charges of television's detractors . . .

Frankly, his "irk" shows.

Mr. Wylie says:

> Television isn't going to bring culture to a lot of people who don't want any more than they now have, and who haven't room to store it if given it. And television shouldn't try to do this, and it isn't going to try to do it.

From his cozy, omniscient corner he continues:

> A small per cent of television belongs to the "Harvards"—the intellectuals — whether they're the real thing or not. A much larger per cent belongs (because they are so numerous) to the non-Harvards."

It is not the task of the Harvards, he says, to urge on the non-Harvards what they think is good for them; nor is it television's task, or radio's. "We talk to anybody."

Wylie thinks this is the "age of the jerk." And since he "talks to anybody," he will, we assume, talk to the "jerk" too. But how will the "jerk" understand him? "Hypnagogic orthovagatonic perissological divaricating" is to be found, in company with "casuistical dislocation," "sesquipedalian motive-hunters," "chitinous vanity," "fecundating effect." By this time the reader—jerk or no jerk—feels beclubbed and befogged.

Though he objects to the "incomplete thinking and unproved charges" of others, Wylie himself takes many such liberties throughout the book.

> No psychiatrist . . . has ever rescued an alcoholic from his liquor and turned him into a normal drinker. There is no turning an alcoholic into a normal drinker—not ever—yet in New York City there aren't five psychiatrists who know this, admit, and practice it. They know only how to "treat" him . . . and send him forth to his tragic stumblings and his ruin, accompanied by a crushing bill. . . . To me it is a statistic almost as frightening as it is funny (I do not believe it has been recorded before) that in all the jungle-minded dictionaries behind which psychiatrists live (and hide), not one defines the word "happy." . . . It isn't in their book!

Such wild talk is too ridiculous for comment.

The fourteen chapters include discussion of television in relation to baseball; Cameras and the Congress; Radio; Culture; Juvenile Delinquents; Educators; Public Health; Cigarettes, Smoking, and Lung Cancer. On this last subject Mr. Wylie does a good job of collating material already printed and eliciting additional information from medical authorities.

Phases of baseball are discussed that are totally unrelated to television, such as the baseball clubs' practice of "selling" their players, "expense accounts and deductibles for income taxes," fans' resentment at not getting tickets when nearly every game shows a great many empties, the concentration of some men in baseball on financial profit—though in other parts of the book the author says that he sees nothing crude or incongruous in getting paid for what you do. A great part of each chapter seems irrelevant to the main subject under discussion. The reader can only conclude that the purpose of this verbiage is volume and possibly the opportunity to get rid of a few personal animosities.

Mr. Wylie is not only unsympathetic but unfair and inaccurate in much of what he says about educators and their experience on the air. He does not mention the essential factor in what he calls "education's failure." If education has failed on the air, the responsibility must be borne by the economics of the industry. The failure is not due to laziness on the part of educators or to their lack of talent, sincerity, or ingenuity. American broadcast stations are a business, privately owned and supported. They sell time, and they are competitive. If they "give" time, they can also withdraw it, and this has been the heart of education in radio's plight. A 1937 report by the Commission on Civic Education by Radio, the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and the American Political Science Association records what has been called the irrepressible conflict between educational and commercial broadcasting.

If responsible, critical, and sober judgment is asked of the layman, what should be expected of the writer, particularly if his field is communications, where he can either "start something" or prevent it? Yet this author attacks men of proved worth, whose good influence on contemporary society is not to be gainsaid. His violence denies the mood of candor. Perhaps the intent was to overwhelm.

HAZEL COOLEY is the author of "Vision in Television" and is engaged in community education activities.

COMING

"The Contemporary French Novel"
By Henri Peyre
Reviewed by Albert Guerard

"The Cypresses Believe in God"
By Jose Maria Gironella
Reviewed by Kay Boyle

"Why Not Survive?"
By Michael V. Straus
Reviewed by Thomas J. Hamilton

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Selected Art Books

MASTERS OF MODERN ART. Edited by Alfred H. Barr. Jr. The Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $15. A magnificent publication including 77 color plates and nearly 300 black-and-white plates, all of them remarkable examples of the photographer's art and the photo-engraver's skill. The layout of this complex volume is equally painstaking and sensitive as modern design. Mr. Barr's selections from the museum's collections imply prodigious knowledge and courageous judgment. His penetrating comments proceed from the plates, which are so arranged as to present an informal history of modern art in its manifold and varied national idioms.

THE NATURAL HOUSE. By Frank Lloyd Wright. Horizon Press. $6.50. A compilation of articles and chapters written between 1936 and 1953 with appended advice for future owners of medium-priced houses and 133 illustrations of fair quality. There is a good deal of repetition in Wright's exposition of his philosophy of architecture and in his statement of the importance of his own role in the formation of the modern movement.

ART TREASURES OF THE PRADO MUSEUM: Text by Harry B. Wehle. Abrams. $12.50. Considering the nearly incredible wealth of its contents, the Prado is strangely unfamiliar to Americans. Mr. Wehle, emeritus curator of painting of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has provided an interesting and beautifully written account of the formation of the Prado's collections from the days of Charles V, Phillip II and IV, and Charles IV to the foundation of the museum itself in 1819—some twenty-five years later than that of the Louvre—and its subsequent developments. His comments on the individual paintings imply a deep understanding of Spanish history and culture. Of the 167 plates, over 70 are in color, some of them folding out into double and triple spreads. The finest of Titian, Rubens, Bosch, and the early Flemish masters, as well as the chief glories of Spanish painting, now become accessible to the English-speaking public.

ART NEWS ANNUAL, 1955 Edition. By the Editors of ART NEWS. $3.95. Fortified by a wealth of fine color plates, including four double-page plates in portfolio, this year's Annual solidifies the prestige already earned by ART NEWS. Leonardo's Last Supper is presented in its newly restored condition There are excellent long articles on Georges de la Tour, on Fantin Latour, on Cubism and the Arensberg Collections, and on glass.

WALTER GROPIUS, WORK AND TEAMWORK. By Siegfried Giedion. Reinhold. $10. An authoritative but by no means definitive monograph on one of the chief pioneers of modern architecture by an outstanding historian of the modern movement. Gropius's major contribution to building and design and his theories of education, which are perhaps even more important, are here admirably surveyed and appraised.

REMBRANDT. Text by Ludwig Munz. Abrams, The Library of Great Painters. $12.50. Although Rembrandt's dark subtleties are notorious for eluding reproduction on paper, the fifty color plates in this book make a bold and relatively successful attempt to capture their quality. The finest are perhaps the frontispiece self-portrait and a detail from the magnificent late composition Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (Cassel Gallery), which is full of tenderness and a golden radiance. The comments on the plates, by the director of the Academic Painting Gallery in Vienna,

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

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* * * * *

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are informative as to subject matter but critically rather sparse; his introductory essay provides an adequate historical framework. Brief notes accompany selections of the finest etchings and drawings. The choice of the paintings is marred only by the absence of Rembrandt's greatest artistic triumph, the Portrait of Jan Six.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Sociology And Philosophy

HOPI ETHICS. By Richard B. Brandt. Chicago. $7.50. An important pioneer work in the relationship of ethics and anthropology by a philosopher who gathered his descriptive data on the Hopi Indian reservation. The book contains a good deal of ethical theory presented clearly and provocatively. The Hopi materials are inherently interesting in their variety and contrast, and Dr. Brandt explores them sensitively.

THE EMBATTLED PHILOSOPHER. A Biography of Denis Diderot. By Lester G. Crocker. Michigan State. $6.50. The life story of the great eighteenth-century materialist philosopher and encyclopedist. Diderot's friendships, liberally sprinkled with his loves, jostle his ideas, along with the adventures of the Encyclopedia itself as it comes to birth in an atmosphere of repression. Emphasis falls for the most part on story rather than analysis, but the many-sidedness of Diderot's consciousness is well conveyed.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Etienne Gilson. Random House. $7.50. A compact account, by the most eminent scholar in this field, of persons, problems, and divergent traditions. It covers twelve hundred years of Christian philosophy and includes also relevant Arabian and Jewish materials. Its preponderant concern is analysis and development of ideas, with occasional reference to religious setting but no relation to the lives of the people and the general growth of civilization.

SOVEREIGN REASON. By Ernest Nagel. Free Press. $5. A series of papers dealing with contemporary philosophies of science—Peirce, Russell, Whitehead, and others—and collectively giving a good picture of the present state of the field. Some of the essays are more, some less technical, but all are interesting, illuminating, and incisive. The general perspective is a contextual naturalism in which ideas are to be understood by the way they actually function in scientific use.

A DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO. By Samuel Enoch Stumpf. Vanderbilt. $2.75. Brief—almost outline—reflections on the elements, character, conditions, heritage, and motives of democracy from a Christian perspective. The book is general without being vague, aware of diverse contributions to the democratic tradition but perhaps not sufficiently of alternative bases for democracy, not altogether free from cliches in dealing with opposing positions yet preeminently sensitive in its concern with human values.

ABRAHAM EDEL

Theater

Robert Hatch

THE hero of "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" (Morosco) walks with a crutch and refuses to cohabit with his wife—she, in consequence, is the "cat" of the title. This celibacy, supported by an alarming consumption of alcohol, is his gesture of revulsion against being charged by her with incipient homosexuality. However, his father, all-wise but dying of cancer, forces the boy to admit that the pose of dipsomaniac disgust hides in part a fear that there may be some truth to the slander and still more a guilt at having deserted his friend when the charge was first made. The son retaliates by telling the old man the truth about his illness—thus effectively finishing him off—but the self-knowledge is so efficient that, as the final curtain drops, the crutch has been laid aside and husband and wife are settling slowly into the marriage bed.

It is not difficult to understand what Tennessee Williams is up to. He is writing a charade that spells "psychoanalysis," and the people move through the play as in a dream. The heroine walks on stage and removes her dress; the mother points to the bed and says portentously, "This is where the trouble begins"; the father boasts grossly of his virility; monstrous children rush on stage and scream "bang, bang"; the dying patriarch tells a very old and not very funny dirty joke; the hero drinks and drinks but gets no drunker; large sections of the dialogue are delivered in a sing-song monotone; members of the family are referred to by such infantile names as "big daddy" and "brother man." I doubt that even on a Mississippi Delta plantation people behave so when they are awake.

ALL this preoccupation with the symbolism of the consulting room seems to be a little old-fashioned of Williams, but I want to make an even more old-fashioned complaint: I wish his play weren't so disagreeable. I left it feeling that I had spent the evening with a group of corpses that had had little to recommend them when they were alive. Villainy in the theater is a splendid, stimulating force, but this cold second-rateness seems to me the negation of drama. Where is the suspense, if no soul is worth saving? Sex and death and money preoccupy Williams's characters; in the face of death, the sex is regulated to get the money.

This is bitter, but in itself it does not make a bad plot for a moral fable. What ruins it for me is my inability to care whether anyone in the company sinks or swims. Let them die, let them breed, let them grow fat on the wealth—it is none of my business and I don't have to watch. I put it thus personally because I realize that all around me other observers are cheering.

I think they may be cheering the brutality, in the belief that it expresses a concern for humanity. Certainly the performances which Elia Kazan has extracted from Ben Gazzara, Burl Ives, Barbara Bel Geddes, Mildred Dunnock, and the rest are technically powerful. They snap at and slash one another like dogs, and if you could believe in them as people it would be inexpressibly shocking. Williams is not a trivial man and it is evident that he

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wishes to instruct. But he has a diabolical gift for laying bare the circumstances of humanity and this time I think he has carried it to the point where the humanity disappears. Without love and hope, discussion of vice and virtue becomes academic.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THOUGH I had no opportunity to hear the Berlin Philharmonic play Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 under von Karajan in Carnegie Hall, I have a Decca record with its performance of this work under Fricsay, in which its playing shows it to be still the superb orchestra I heard in London in 1928, with especially fine strings and brass, and a first horn whose playing of the solo in the second movement is astounding in its beauty of tone and phrasing. And on the other hand I have heard a friend's Angel record with a performance of the work by the Philharmonia Orchestra in which von Karajan's over-deliberate tempos and studied effects--exaggerated expansions and diminutions of sonority and accelerations and retardations of pace--completely destroy the natural flow of the music and falsify its expressive content. I might add, therefore, that Fricsay's pacing and shaping of the work on the Decca record is excellent.

In Mozart however von Karajan is a musician of taste, as he demonstrates on Angel 35092 with the sensitive playing he gets the Philharmonia to do in Mozart's Horn Concertos K.412, 417, 447, and 495. There is beautiful melodic writing in all these works, even the slightest of them, K.412; but what in addition makes K.447 the most impressive of the four is the development section of the first movement, with its startling and dramatic shifts of key; and the smaller-scale K.417 also has wonderful pages in the development of its first movement. I hadn't expected ever to hear the solo part of K.447 played more beautifully than by Mason Jones on the WCFM record; but Dennis Brain, the soloist in these Angel performances, produces a tone that is more legato and more supple, with which he achieves phrasing that is more calmly sustained and more subtly detailed.

Von Karajan's performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony with the Philharmonia on Angel 35000 also is straightforward and effective for the most part. That is, with the steady tempo that he maintains in the first movement all the way through the dissonant climax of the development he creates a powerful effect of continuous tension—only to destroy it momentarily by slowing down for the new theme that enters after that climax; and a broadening out in the syncopated staccato chords near the end of the recapitulation has the same result. Von Karajan isn't responsible for the drop in volume at the end of the recapitulation that makes the forte D flat proclamation and fortissimo C major proclamation at the beginning of the coda so feeble; but only he can be responsible for the orchestra's strangely indecisive attacks in those two tuttis. These details in the first movement, and the broadening out at a couple of points after the fugato in the slow movement, are what I would question in the otherwise straightforward and effective performance. And a little too much resonance costs the excellent recorded sound something in clarity of definition.

Epic SC-6004 has given me another hearing of Mahler's gigantic Symphony No. 8, the so-called "Symphony of a Thousand"; and again I find that it doesn't work for me as other symphonies of Mahler do—though I am aware of beautiful moments. Eduard Flipse conducts an excellent performance by the Rotterdam Philharmonic, the Combined Rotterdam Choirs, and unidentified soloists.

Nor do the excellent performances that Stravinsky conducts of his "Symphonies of Wind Instruments," his Octet, and "L'Histoire du soldat" on Columbia ML-4964 persuade me to like these pieces more this time

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than before. The North West German Radio Orchestra plays in the first piece, and two assembled groups of American players in the others.

In the performance of Bloch's "Schelomo" by the Hague Philharmonic under van Otterloo on Epic LC-3072 the solo cello part is played by Tibor de Machula with a dry tone that gets to be unpleasantly shrill in its upper range. The Lalo Concerto in D minor is on the reverse side.

I used to enjoy Walton's "Portsmouth Point" Overture when Koussevitzky played it in the twenties; but listening to it played by the London Philharmonic under Boult on London LL-1165 I find it as thin as the "Scapino" Overture and "Siesta," which also are on the record. On the reverse side are the lovely Bach pieces richly scored by Walton for the ballet "The Wise Virgins," and played beautifully.

MGM E-3160 offers Alan Hovhaness's "Khaldis," a concerto for piano, four trumpets, and percussion, played by Masselos with a chamber group under Izler Solomon; and Masselos's performances of several of Hovhaness's pieces for piano. They are written in the musical language that Hovhaness has fashioned for himself out of Armenian and other Asiatic sources—a language that is a medium of expressive communication for him, but is for me as exotic as its sources. I am, then, emotionally uninvolved; and listening on the outside, so to speak, I can only note this piquant sonority here, this striking effect there. Excellent performances.

Epic LC-3093 offers the Dutch composer Willem Pijper's "Six Epigrams" for orchestra and his Piano Concerto, played by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under van Beinum with Hans Henkemans as soloist in the concerto. These works are in a modern idiom that I find unpleasantly unmeaningful; but Henkemans's Violin Concerto, played by Theo Olof on the reverse side, held my attention and interest with a rich-textured writing that is evocative of the past—in this case the not too distant past of Chausson and others of his period—but has the impress of a mind of the present; and also with the assured mastery of the operation. Excellent performances.

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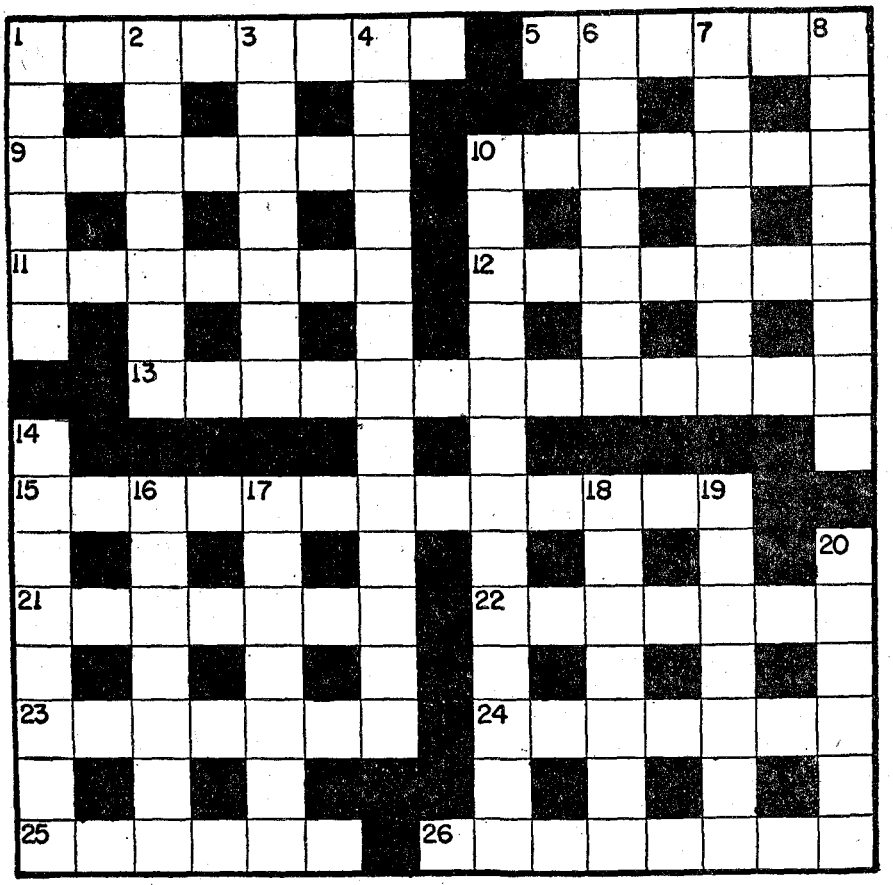
Crossword Puzzle No. 614

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 They look out for attempts to latch onto foreign money. (8)
5 A feathered friend I'm bringing back with part of the cage. (6)
9 Turn around over 100 times in the race. (7)
10 Gets, so I find, upset (but not about other people). (7)
11 Piece of music, not always French. (7)
12 You might find this pin real sweet. (7)
13 Excoriate and search out pleasure for youth. (4-3-2-4)
15 Olive might have made it necessary, but got breeding. (8,5)
21 Got up to drink in the garden. (3,4)
22 Be in state, by the sound of it, for a neighborly president. (7)
23 Shakespeare bewept such a state. (7)
24 Monkey around with the vegetables, and you might have to the proprietor. (7)
25 The American were 10 down in the first war. (6)
26 The man who "jumped into a bramble bush" didn't have any dress. (4,4)

DOWN

1 Uncle? Just look around the plant! (6)
2 Walker certainly wouldn't make a logical governor of a Greek province! (7)
3 Take a step again—it's one way to get tired! (7)
4 Cue no great men might give, but 10 across probably wouldn't need it. (13)
6 Look in a language of Luzon for it. (7)
7 Delay, with or without the pie. (7)
8 Asks for an advance, like a queen around the top. (8)
10 See 25 across. (13)
14 Gets ready to sail with the actors so very loud! (5,3)
16 Mercy! That's what they used to do in case of treason! (7)
17 Is nothing recent let alone? (7)
18 Priests' insignia. (7)
19 Chase on the surface. (7)
20 Discover things in the hole? (6)

ANSWER TO 613

ACROSS: 1 RICKRACK; 8 ROTATOR; 9 ANNUALLY; 19 TROTSKY; 14 INLAY; 15 AND 19 SIMPLE MAJORITY; 17 BOLOS; 22 AND 31 THREE-BASE HIT; 23 REPAST; 24 AND 12 STEAMSHIPS; 26 MASHER; 28 SHOAL; 30 PARASITE; 32, 13 AND 29 THE ROYAL ROAD TO ROMANCE. DOWN: 1 REASSESS; 2 CONFIRMS; 3 READS; 4 CELERY; 5 HOARD; 6 CARTONS; 7 WORKMAN; 10 TALOS; 11 OTIOSE; 16 LEHMAN; 18 LETHE; 20 STILWELL; 21 OTTOMAN; 22 TAMALES; 25 BROACH; 7 SCRIP; 28 STAIR.

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